1: Titiev E-5 (1948) 1951 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche-Huilliche

polygynous household, No. 11, was maintained by Antonio Huircapan's half brother, Domingo. At one time Domingo was wedded to three wives, the first of whom he inherited from a deceased brother. In house No. 17 there lived a man who married two unrelated women by whom he begot five and six children, respectively.

Despite the presence of a native pastor and an Episcopal church, only the couples in houses Nos. 1, 2, and 10 have had church weddings. All the rest were married by customary Araucanian rites, in addition to which the householders in houses Nos. 3, 4, 8, and 15 have gone through Chilean civil ceremonies.[6] Probably because of opposition from the church there is no active medicine woman, *machi*, at Cautinche. There is a hockey field where games are sometimes played, but none of the traditional religious ceremonies is held. Maria Munos, wife of Pedro Llancao in house No. 9, is a trained *machi*. She came to Cautinche about ten years ago when, as an elderly widow, she married Pedro. I was told that her professional services are rarely or never called for, and she does not even have the notched post, *rewe*, which is the essential sign of a practicing *machi* (contrast Pl. VII, Figs. 1 and 2).

Although the direct authority of the church over Cautinche and its environs does not appear very great, it exerts a good deal of influence indirectly through its school. The Cautinche school, conducted under the auspices of the Misión Araucana, is taught by Juan Antinao's son. Whenever the teacher is otherwise engaged his sister, Josephina, conducts class. Pupils are drawn from several reservations (Table IV).

Ability to speak Spanish is the most striking accomplishment of the school children. In addition, youngsters learn to read a little and to do elementary arithmetic. Of Cautinche's adult population, however, it was estimated by Juan Antinao that ten men and six women spoke fluent Spanish, while the rest had only a smattering of the language.

[6] The Reverend Juan Antinao will marry in church only monogamous couples or the first wife of a polygynous husband. He will baptize any child whose parents have had either a church or civil wedding.

1: Titiev E-5 (1948) 1951 SG4 Araucanians SG4
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621 One must not lose sight of the fact that Cautinche was first settled by a unilocal, patrilocal group which retained its essential structure for some time. Even today the reservation may be regarded, broadly speaking, as a sort of multilocal, patrilineal kinship group. With a single exception, all the men are related. Occupants of houses Nos. 1, 2, 4, 7, 8, 10, 11, 12, 13, and 15 trace their ancestry back to Juan Antinao Paineo, and the owners of houses Nos. 3, 5, 9, 16, and 17 to his cousin, Dionisio Paillao. Only the occupant of No. 14, Oligario Nankucheyo, is genealogically unconnected with the others. He first came to

TABLE IV

CAUTINCHE SCHOOL ROSTER

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Home Reservation	Boys	Girls	Total
Cautinche	12	9	21
Denencuhue	6	8	14
Curaco	2	2	4
Boldoche	3	0	3
Catrimalal	0	2	2
Ayehueco	0	1	1
Huichicon	0	1	1
Totals[7]	23	23	46

621 Cautinche as a laborer for his wife's uncle, Antonio Huircapan, of house No. 10, and now works for him on half shares. Oligario Nankucheyo moved from the Yauyahuenche subdivision of Malalche, his home reservation, because he had no land of his own. He and his wife may be called the only "immigrants" in Cautinche. They arrived about three years ago and have become so well adjusted that they are liked by all their neighbors.

[7] Although forty-six pupils are shown on the official roster, half of the number generally missed attendance, and some "students" probably never came to class. Since teachers are paid on the basis of enrollments, there is a tendency to exaggerate the size of a school's roster.

1: Titiev E-5 (1948) 1951 SG4 Araucanians SG4
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a woman. According to the other version a large group of Araucanians crossed the Andes from Argentina and settled at Nacimiento, near the upper reaches of the Bío Bío, or at Villarica, soon after 1800. Later, one unit went to Renaco while another moved into new territory at Carrarriñe. The name most commonly attributed to the latter's first settler is Manqueo who, accompanied by some brothers and other relatives, arrived around 1825. Two of his putative brothers were called Nahuelhual and Collío, and one of his daughters married a Painemal, from whom the reservation's present title holder is descended. One of Manqueo's sons, Paillao Huaiquian, succeeded his father as *loñko*, and founded the Huaiquian branch of the family, which is still important at Carrarriñe. One of his first cousins was known as Paineo, and he became the ancestor of another important family.

Today the principal groups at Carrarriñe are called Painemal, Huaiquian, Paineo, and Collío. All represent contemporaneous offshoots of Manqueo, the reservation's founder. Nevertheless, these people do not live in complete harmony, and at least three factions can be distinguished: Collío, Painemal, and Huaiquian-Paineo. The most obvious sign of the rift is in respect to hockey fields. These playing grounds are important because they are used not only for sport but also for major rituals. At Carrarriñe there are four separate fields. One, associated with the Huaiquian-Paineo group, is the main field and is recognized by all the inhabitants (Fig. 8, near house No. 25, and Pl. XI, Fig. 2). A second field, somewhat more restricted in use, is linked with the Collío family (Fig. 8, near house No. 18), and a third is associated with the Painemals (Fig. 8, near No. 6). Still another schism seems to have occurred in 1948, when Bartolo Gallardo put a new hockey field into use near his own home (Fig. 8, No. 38). Gallardo's action is linked with Carrarriñe's dispute over schools.

Approximately twelve years ago Bartolo Gallardo moved to Carrarriñe from Tromenguelo because he had inherited some land from his grandfather and because his mother was living in Carrarriñe. About 1938 Gallardo was appointed to teach in the

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Misión Araucana's school at Carrarriñe. Soon after, a rival instructor named Martín Duminghual opened an independent school with government support. A series of quarrels broke out, and Carrarriñe became divided into parties that supported or opposed Gallardo. Early in 1948 the Misión Araucana found it necessary to dismiss Gallardo, who was replaced by Domingo Carilaf from Tranahuillín (Pl. XVI, Fig. 2). Thereupon, Gallardo opened a school of his own and dedicated a new hockey field on July 14, 1948. Thus, Carrarriñe finds itself in the curious position of harboring three schools within a league of one another.

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SOCIAL COMPOSITION OF CARRARRIÑE

Carrarriñe was officially designated as a reduction in December, 1887, and underwent allotment on December 16, 1921. It contains between fifty and fifty-five households. Working conditions did not permit us to secure sociological data on all the inhabitants, but information was obtained for thirty-eight dwellings, distributed as indicated in Figure 8. There were 224 people residing in the thirty-eight units studied, an average of six to a household. The range is two to twelve, and the mode is six, as may be seen in Table V.

621

The social structure of Carrarriñe differs from that of Cautinche in several basic respects. For one thing, reservation exogamy is far less common, probably because the population of Carrarriñe is larger and more diversified. Data obtained for thirty-six married women reveal that thirteen, or 36 per cent, of them came from "Greater Carrarriñe," eleven from within the main reservation, and two from Tromenguelo. The remaining wives were drawn from many scattered reductions. Informants pointed out several polygynous households, but did not furnish adequate statistics. In one interesting case a native speaker treated as a single familial unit the members of a bigamous group in which a man's two wives lived in adjacent houses. In only one household (Fig. 8, No. 10) was there no adult woman. A widower and two unmarried sons kept house there.

621 [582] 161 592

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The absence of a church and resident pastor provides the basis for another contrast with Cautinche. Sunday services are conducted in the schoolhouse either by the local teacher or by a visiting member of the Misión Araucana's staff from Cholchol. A small number of Carrarriñe folk have had civil or church weddings, and much of the population has been baptized at one time or another, but one sees very little evidence of intense devotion to Christianity. Two active *machis* reside on the reservation (Fig. 8, No. 26),[10] and native ceremonies are held at intervals. Only a few of the older people speak fluent Spanish, and some of the others have no command of the language at all.

Thirty-five children, from seven to sixteen years of age, are registered in the main school taught by Domingo Carilaf. There are ten boys and nineteen girls from Carrarriñe and five boys and three girls from Boldoche (see Pl. XVI, Fig. 2). School matters play a prominent part in the internal affairs of the reduction. There is, or was, an Araucanian Educational Society that met regularly, at least between October, 1933, and August, 1947. It elected officers, collected dues, and made decisions with regard to the selection of teachers, location of buildings, procurement of equipment, and related matters. Women, as well as men, were enrolled as members, and the activities of the group are suggestive of PTA affairs in the United States.

In this reduction one of the most striking differences from Cautinche is the large number of unwed adults: five widowers, eleven widows, twenty-two spinsters, and twenty-six bachelors. This must not be interpreted to imply a high level of celibacy. A more realistic interpretation, suggested by informants, indicates that under the allotment system it is becoming increasingly difficult for young men to secure enough land to enable them to support wives and families. Also because of economic pressure, a few men and women annually leave the reservation to look for work in cities or on privately owned estates.

[10] The home of only one of the *machis* is shown in Figure 8. Her house and *ruca* are pictured (Pl. VII, Fig. 2).

1: Titiev E-5 (1948) 1951 SG4 Araucanians SG4
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BACKGROUND AND DESCRIPTION OF RENACO

621 [13] 133 Renaco, a small reduction of 275 hectares, lies about four kilometers northeast of Cholchol. Title is held by the *loñko*, Fermín Nahuelhual. The terrain falls into two divisions, a hilly section that is part of the eastern foothills of the Nahuelbuta coastal range, and a flat meadow-like area which is drained by the Renaco stream that enters the Cholchol River at Cholchol. Since there are only nine houses, with a populace of fifty-six, it might seem that there is enough land for all, but much of the hilly ground is unsuited for growing wheat, and the lowland receives too much moisture to yield good crops.

175 621 Renaco was settled, probably in 1825, by Araucanians who had crossed the Andes from Argentina. The first family to arrive was that of Collío Huenchual, from whom the present chief is descended. All the householders now living on the reservation are members of a single large family. Three men have built homes in the hilly section (Fig. 9, Nos. 2, 4, 5), and the others are spread over the meadow, with the leader's house (Fig. 9, No. 1) more or less centrally located. As long ago as 1885 a traveler described Renaco as having six to eight houses, "forming the only approach to anything like a village that we met in the whole country."[11]

621 797 ●871 In 1948 the Misión Araucana established a school that is taught by a young man, Antonio, eldest son of Segundo Huenchual (Fig. 9, No. 2). The teacher claims to have a gross enrollment of fifty pupils, with an average attendance of thirty nine.[12] One room of a utility building next to Segundo Huenchual's dwelling serves as the sole classroom.

621 [526] [756] At Renaco the hockey field and the ritual ground are distinct (see Fig. 9). There is no resident *machi* at present, although it was claimed that a male *machi* named José Teuque once lived on the reservation. Despite the presence of a ceremonial area, no *füillatun* has been held at Renaco for more than ten years.

[11] Smith, 1855, p. 285.
[12] This figure may well be too high. See footnote 7 of this chapter.

1: Titiev E-5 (1948) 1951 SG4 Araucanians SG4
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that they can get no justice from the government or from their own leaders.

Religious functions, too, have passed out of the hands of the chiefs. True, they may exercise discretion in setting a date for an assembly or *ñiillatun*, and they may select an officiating *machi* and other participants, but once the rites get under way a *loñko* has little more to do than any other celebrant.

All in all, the bonds of loyalty to a chief, the sentiments of attachment to one's own group, and the ties of kinship and common residence that served to give each community a sense of cohesion and solidarity have virtually disappeared. Members of a reduction may still show a bit of neighborly interest in one another and, to some degree, relationship ties may hold together coresidents of a reservation that was founded by a close kinship group, but growing schisms and factionalism are everywhere apparent, and community enterprises have been reduced to the joint sponsorship of an occasional assembly, *ñiillatun*, or hockey game, or else to a show of common interest in the maintenance of a school.

Schooling, in turn, has become a prime agent in facilitating the breakdown of Araucanian culture. Not only is instruction conveyed in a foreign tongue (Spanish), but most of the available schools are conducted by missionaries. Rural schools, especially, are taught by Christianized natives. This means that much time is devoted to preaching and hymn singing, and that values and virtues not based on Mapuche life are taught. Then, too, the missions customarily offer far better medical care than the state provides, and with every cure by doctor, nurse, or trained missionary, the people's confidence in *machis* grows less and less. Just the same, and regardless of how much parents may regret the passing of the old order, the great majority of them are practical enough to recognize the advantages of education and to encourage their youngsters to get as much schooling as possible. Already the young folk excel their elders in arithmetic, speaking, reading, and writing Spanish, and as time goes on more and more of them are adopting Chilean ways. The relationship of schooling to Christianity and the speeding

1: Titiev E-5 (1948) 1951 SG4 Araucanians SG4
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177 871 up of acculturation were vividly impressed on me not only at the mission station in Cholchol, but also when I visited a small rural school at Malalche, in the company of Juan Antinao. Part of the one-room building had folding doors, behind which were an altar and other furnishings of a chapel. Reverend Antinao greeted the teacher, introduced me to her and to the class, then spoke to the pupils in Spanish, praising their Chilean "brothers" and urging them to learn to be good Chileans.

177 562 It is important to realize that the weight of cultural readjustment has fallen unequally on the two sexes. Men have been much more completely deprived of their former means of achieving status than have women. It might even be argued that the lot of women has in some ways been improved since pacification. No new cares of any significance have been added to their age-old duties, they have been released from most of the farming responsibilities, and those who have had schooling are developing a spirit of independence that was formerly lacking. The most important and sacred of the ceremonies still performed are entrusted to female *machis*, and few are the men who treat their spouses as chattels. In more than one instance I was impressed with the scrupulous care taken by husbands to avoid offering for sale articles that belonged to their wives. When journeys are being made women do not trudge afoot with burdens on their backs, but sit in carts while the menfolk walk or serve as drivers. Nor is it easy to forget a scene in Temuco's main plaza in which a Mapuche woman publicly and shrilly abused a man who lowered his head and hurriedly crossed the street to escape her loud nagging. It would be a mistake, however, to think that women enjoy full equality with men. On the reservations they continue to cater to their menfolk and exhibit marked signs of respect, and in the towns it is a common sight to see a woman waiting mournfully in an oxcart outside a wineshop, while her husband drinks up the money she had planned to put to other use.

177 582 A number of social maladjustments have arisen from population changes resulting from the cessation of warfare, together with the decline of preferential cross-cousin marriage. During the years when losses in battle served to keep down the propor-

1: Titiev E-5 (1948) 1951 SG4 Araucanians SG4
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PLATE XVI

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622
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FIG. 1. Two men from Renaco. Fermin Nahuelhual, the cacique (left), and Segundo Huenchual. Although Segundo regards himself as an Araucanian his face shows little evidence of Indian ancestry.

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FIG. 2. Children at Carrarriñe. Behind them is the one-room school conducted by the Misión Araucana. Domingo Carilaf, the teacher, is at the extreme right.

[end plate 16]

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
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else to slap him. In another case, however, a father spanked his son and then asked the boy's teacher to spank him again if he needed it. The man's father hearing of this came to the teacher and voiced his disapproval: "That man has not even the right to ask me, the boy's grandfather, to whip that boy." In another instance a teacher reported a 10-year-old boy to his father for lying and suggested that the boy be punished. To this the father replied, "Maybe the time has come to whip him; I have not done so up to now." Whipping was done with a leather strap. It was administered for a serious offense only, such as lying, stealing, or disobedience.

Some informants did not approve of the mother ever whipping an adolescent or older son; they were whipped by the father with a rawhide for offenses such as disrespect or disobedience. "A young man sometimes ran away from home when he knew there was a whipping in the offing, although he knew that he would surely be whipped on his return home. A son obeyed, even when married and when he had grown older, as long as his father lived. And he never answered his father back. Formerly a child accepted a whipping from parents even at 20, and said not a word; today small ones rise up and say that they will not be punished."

Boys of school age had been whipped at home for playing on the way home from school after having been told to come directly home; for not doing assigned work; for chasing cows to a run; for playing instead of weeding the garden; for eating green apples after being told not to. Girls of school age had been spanked or slapped on the hands by the mother for coming home late from school, for hitting a brother, for breaking a father's yerba maté cup and a mother's plate, for inadvertently slapping a brother's nose and making it bleed.

Compulsions, such as frightening, ridiculing, ignoring, mocking, nagging, coaxing, bribing, or comparing with other children in order to bring about conformity in conduct, were rarely used. Nor does it appear that, in general, children were threatened with punishment to be administered by supernatural powers. One man, however, told that his grandfather, "who knew no Spanish or anything about the Christian religion," said to him when he did not obey, "God will punish you for that." "But," the informant added, "it was the same God that punishes now, for the Mapuche always prayed to the same God as we pray to now. We never addressed prayers to idols or trees or such things."

PRESENT-DAY FORMAL EDUCATION

Araucanian children today have opportunities of attending either private or public schools directed by the Chilean department of edu-

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
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●871 cation. Although attendance at school is compulsory, some children attend only one or two years. Ages of children in the first year of school ranged from 5 to 11; rarely does a child attend after 15. Grading is done by readers, there being four readers; usually a child needs two years to cover a reader. In addition to learning to read children must learn to spell, write, and draw; simple mathematics and geography are also required. Learning horticulture is encouraged.

Parents do not always see the need of formal education—"We had none, and got along." When children are chided for not being at school, they not infrequently say, "Well, mama did not send me; she said she did not go to school either."

In general, however, parents are interested in having their sons attend school; they recognize a man's need of formal education in dealing with Chileans. Girls, in all probability, would receive little or no formal education if attendance at school were not compulsory. When a teacher told a man that his daughter should be at school, he replied that if his wife decided that the girl was to attend school, then he would send her; that it was not for him to say what education his daughters should have; that it was his duty to see that his boys attended school. His attitude may have been due to the custom of mothers training daughters and fathers, sons. A father said about his 18-year-old daughter who had married recently, "What do I now have of the education my girl received? Nothing! She is just out of school and marries. Her education goes to the man who married her." A teacher remarked: "I heard an old woman say today, 'These small girls know more than we old people do,' but she seemed to be pleased about it. I have heard young women blame their parents for not sending them to school."

Of 30 families whose children attended an Alepúe area school, 20 fathers and 3 mothers were able to read and write. Four families owned a book each: three, a New Testament, and one, a book of miscellaneous collections. None of the 30 families subscribed to a newspaper, but occasionally when a father or an older son went to a Chilean village he bought one there. There was no mail delivery in the area. Of 59 school children of these families, one boy had seen two motion pictures; another had seen one; the rest none.

MENTAL TRAINING

LANGUAGE

191 In homes where both parents are Araucanian the native language is spoken. Consequently, on entrance to school, children from such homes know only Araucanian and must be taught Spanish as a foreign

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
SG4 Araucanians SG4
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On school days, in homes where there are children of school age, the above routine cannot be followed, for "children must be at school early." A partial meal, then, is usually eaten in the early morning and a full meal after the children return from school. Schools furnish a midday snack of toasted wheat in sugar-sweetened water.

Meals are eaten around the fireplace seated either on the ground on folded sheep pelts, or on low benches, stools, or tree-trunk sections. "Formerly we had no benches; we sat on pelts and rugs on the ground." The food is served in bowls or on plates. No tables are used. The woman serves her husband and visiting adults first, then the children, and then herself; but all eat together. According to Cooper's sources, men used to eat together, and women apart from them (1946, p. 706), a custom not known to my informants.

THE RUKA: CONSTRUCTION, LIGHTING, FURNISHINGS, STORAGE

The ruka is the home of the Araucanian. Formerly, according to Cooper's sources, ruka were commonly oval, polygonal, or rectangular in ground plan, and generally the framework was of timber or cane and the roof of thatch reaching nearly or quite to the ground level. However, as early as 1551 there were well-built ruka of large planks around Imperial (the Boroa area), many of them large ones with four to eight entrances (1946, pp. 707-708).

Today nearly all ruka are rectangular. The framework is of planks, and roofs are gabled or lean-to in shape (pls. 52, 53). Walls and roof combinations fall predominantly into three types: walls and roof both of thatch—this is the oldest combination; walls of planks and roof of thatch; and walls of planks and roof of logs. One shingled and several tin roofs were seen, but these were exceptional.

In Alepúe area men began building plank houses after they had helped to build the Sisters' home and school, where they assisted non-Araucanians in hewing lumber from logs. In Coñaripe area building with planks was the result of contact and observation at a recently established Chilean-owned lumber camp in an Andean valley nearby. Men not directly engaged at the lumber mill felled and hauled logs to the mill. A non-Araucanian herbalist of the area commented on the rapidity with which the traditional thatched ruka was replaced by the one-room plank ruka, usually two such ruka to a family, after the men began to work at or for the lumber mill. One of the two ruka was used for sleeping and the other for cooking and indoor work in the winter. In the summer most families cook and work outdoors, either under sun shelters, behind windbreaks, or in the shade of trees

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
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A 40-year-old man believed that incorrigible children came from poorly adjusted families. "If a man from a good family marries a woman from a good family, they will bring up good children. Formerly, it was easy to rear children, so the old people say; and I found it so. I never whipped a child; I talked to each one. It is not easy today to rear children." 861

Spanking a child before it was old enough to comprehend the reason for it was thought to be senseless and even harmful, for it might frighten the child and upset its mental poise. An informant believed that the reason a child that was playing nearby during an interview showed fear of a dog and chickens, and was frightened by a noise—an unusual thing for an Araucanian child—was that it had been whipped without knowing the reason for it. "Such a child gets nervous, and can no longer be managed with words."

Children old enough to comprehend were punished for lying, for answering back, and for persistent disobedience. "My mother hit me over the head once because I refused to learn to weave," said a woman in her sixties; "I preferred to ride a horse and tend the sheep and lasso calves. When I wove, I had to sit and sit and sit. But now that I am old, I am glad I know how to weave; I find weaving a profitable pastime."

Switching was done with a switch (wishka) made either of braided reeds of junquillo or braided thongs of young horse hide, usually about 16 inches long. It was kept at the junction of the rafters and the wall, or the mother kept it tied to her belt. Switching was done on calves and ankles, or on thighs and buttocks, while the child was held between the knees of the one administering the switching. "I was switched by my mother once," said an old woman and laughed at the memory of it. She passed up the question why she was switched, probably because her 13-year-old granddaughter was listening. "Sometimes sons at 30 were switched," she continued; "but in general sons at that age were obedient; nor did they answer back."

PRESENT-DAY FORMAL EDUCATION

There are 10 state rural schools in the Araucanian country today, intended for Araucanian children; only one area is without a school. When teachers are available, Araucanian children attend well. Most persons older than 20 had attended school only a very short time, if at all. "The teacher liked me and asked me one day why I was not attending school," a 56-year-old man noted, "so I decided to try it. I attended five days, and I learned something each day." "My son 871

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
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Argentina

871 there [25 years old] spent one month in school," said a 50-year-old man. "He does the work now that I taught him to do: he planted our wheat, potatoes, oats, and peas, and looks after our cattle, sheep, and other animals." Kolupan, when young, wanted to learn to read and write. "My brother," he explained, "had learned to do so in Valdivia. But there was no one to teach me. So I taught myself to read. I looked at words wherever I saw them and asked those who could read what the words said and how to pronounce them. I can now go to the bakery or store and read the names of things I want to buy. I can read the name of the wine I want, too; they cannot sell me a kind that I do not want."

MENTAL TRAINING

LANGUAGE

191 Today, within many families and among Araucanians themselves
186 everywhere, the native language is still spoken; a very few old persons who live in isolated regions and some very young children speak it exclusively. All persons except the very old and very young speak Spanish also. Informants, on several occasions, expressed displeasure with Araucanians who were ashamed to speak their native language within the hearing of non-Araucanians or let it be known that they spoke it. "But one old woman down there in Quilaquina is proud of our language; she teaches Araucanian words to children, or to anyone else, whenever she has an opportunity." "I speak Araucanian," said a 48-year-old man, "but my children do not. Our people are stupid today, they do not want to learn the Araucanian language or to hear it spoken." The language of no other people, including that of the Tehuelche, their nearest neighbors immediately to the south, was known to have been spoken by the Araucanians.

197 Dialectic differences in the Araucanian language as spoken in Chile and in Argentina were pointed out. "But it is all Araucanian; we can all understand one another." Variations in words were also pointed out. Kolupan called the rainbow wümke; other Argentine informants called it kemu or remu; in Chile kemu kemu is a ceremonial stick used by the machi (sorcerer). In Chile an olla is called challa; in Argentina, siniol. An ax in Argentina is a toki; in Chile, a kachal. A pig is ʃañwe in Chile; koafue, in Argentina. Foreign words that have been adopted are both adaptations from the Spanish and words taken over from the languages of the Quechua, Aymara, and Guaraní, people to the north with whom the Araucanians traded. (Cf. pp. 356-357 for trade.) Words adapted from the Spanish are: kawallu or kawell from caballo (horse); waka from vaca (cow);

11:Faron E-5 (1952-1954)1961 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche

the concentration of wheat production and the simple rotation of fields in the Roble Huacho region. Rotation of crops permits more of the land to be farmed each year, natural pasturage rather than fallow fields serving for the herds. Even less wheat is raised on Huilcan than on Llancaman, a feature it has in common with many reservations along the coast. Crop yields are about the same as on Llancaman, and are consistently higher than in the Roble Huacho region, averaging better than 6:1. Nevertheless, owing to the fact that so little land is cleared, scarcely enough crops are harvested to feed the inhabitants throughout the year.

Huilcan was one of the poorest reservations I visited and surely the poorest one on which I lived and worked in 1953. From what I could judge, the hardship began around 1947, at which time most of the land was planted in potatoes. That year there was virtually a total crop failure. People borrowed what they could and ate into reserves such as cattle and sheep. They consumed most or all of their seed, and used up nearly all their pigs and fowl. Some assistance was received from the *Caja de Crédito*, but successive crop failures since 1947 have made credit almost impossible to obtain. It is only recently that the residents have begun to diversify their crops, apparently resigned to the fact that they are not able to cope with the potato blight (even by holding fertility rites). The people regarded a proposed government appropriation of approximately 30,000,000 pesos for all Mapuche in Araucanía (1953) as a windfall, but felt that the small share they might receive would be of little lasting help.

Although there is no scarcity of cultivable land, the people despair of freeing themselves from their present state of hardship without government assistance. There is no general agreement as to what the government should do for them short of providing them with the necessities of life. Some residents, including the chief, feel that a large-scale drainage and clearing project should be undertaken with government help — that is, with government machinery and skilled labor. Many people are also severely critical of the educational system in the government schools, since their children learn merely the fundamentals of reading and writing and spend a good deal of their time singing psalms (Christian religion is part of the curriculum in all government schools). They feel that agricultural courses should be taught, but few of them realize that the government does not have adequately trained personnel for such a program.

For a more detailed picture of the man-land ratio, the amount and

12: Faron E-4, 5 (1952-1954) 1964
SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche

beliefs accordingly persist or change consistent with traditional structures.

The negligible influence of Christianity (including the secular educational by-products of reservation elementary schools) means no less than that the structure of Mapuche values has remained relatively intact over a long period. The clear corollary of this is that Mapuche social institutions have been, since the major accommodation to reservation living, in a state of relative equilibrium. This, after all, is implicit in the concept of "system." But it is also a dynamic concept which does not deny change or discount it. In the case of the Mapuche, social dynamics have not been characterized by random selection of alternative beliefs and contingent activities. There has been a processual consistency with respect to traditional beliefs and action. This temporal continuity of structure is, of course, what has served to distinguish Mapuche from Chilean society. It is most apparent, because most dramatic, in the area of ritual, but it ramifies throughout the total ideological and social structure.

Until the ideological orientation of the Mapuche undergoes radical change, we might expect that Mapuche society will remain relatively stable. Should the social and natural environment change radically (e.g. as a result of disbanding the reservations under Chilean political pressure) we need not necessarily expect Mapuche society to crumble. What accommodations would be made in the event of radical external changes would of course depend on the amount of pressure exerted by the Chilean government. This is a purely empirical matter. What is known of Mapuche émigrées (living in cities, on farms, both in Chile and Argentina) and of those Mapuche continuing to live on what used to be reservation land (since divided into severalties) provides only a dim and partial view of what the future might hold. After all, approximately a quarter of a million people are involved. If the Mapuche are allowed to "determine" their own course, it is expectable that the route they choose will be rather different from that planned for them by the Chilean government. Whatever the institutional accommodation, it will of necessity be complex. And unless one is satisfied with making almost meaninglessly superficial predictions, the outcome is unknowable at the level of inquiry attempted in this book.